Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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THE SOWER

"OUR CAUSE"!

A STUDY IN "COMMUNIST" CANT AND RANT

"The Daily Worker" does not like the Strickland Press. But then it never liked the Bakunin Press, of which the Strickland Press is but the direct continuation, without any break or interruption of Socialist, Pacifist, and Revolutionary activity.

"A Worker's Notebook", in its issue for December 22, 1942, devotes its opening paragraphs to a denunciation of our activity. We make the following excerpt:—

Among those sources of anti-Soviet propaganda, whose efflux seems to seep around pretty widely, is the Strickland Press, of Glasgow.

This institution, which owes its existence to the legacy of Sir Walter Strickland, is administered by an anarchist-pacifist, Guy Aldred—of repute not unknown at least to older members of the Labour movement.

The Strickland Press publishes a periodical entitled "The Word." Its remarkable variety of propaganda lines include pacifism, anarchism, Trotskyism and social credit.

Here is a collection of samples from the current issue:

"The recent Moscow celebrations, and the references, for war alliance purposes, in the capitalist Press, throughout Britain and the United States, to Stalin as though he were creator of the Red Army are nauseating to those who believe in truth as a pearl beyond all price."

Unsigned book notice.

"We are entirely opposed to Stalin and do not believe the enemies of Stalin are, of necessity, the enemies of Soviet Russia."

The editor (Aldred).

Compared with past attacks upon our activity, this comment is mild. The unsigned book notice clearly, as the paper states, was written by "The editor (Aldred)." Our contemporary omits all reference to the book reviewed. Why? Was the work unanswerable. The quotation from "The editor (Aldred)" was a necessary introduction, very brief, to a long essay from the pen of our comrade, F. W. Jowett, defending the Soviet Union against a short comment on the Soviet-Nazi pact we had published in an earlier issue. **Jowett was allowed the final word in defence of Stalin and the Soviet.** Our explanation was to make that fact clear. Why did not our critic say so? But does the fact that we permitted comrade Jowett to defend the Soviet, without replying, make us a Stalinist?

"The Daily Worker" proceeds to quote from Alexander Ratcliffe's criticism of Soviet casualty figures in his article "Falsehood in War Time." It styles Ratcliffe the leader of Protestant Action and states that his propaganda appears little different from that of Catholic Action. If Ratcliffe's analysis is false, or if his facts are stated wrongly the columns are open for a reply. This is a free and democratic journal. Not one of the contributors is sacred. We want the truth and if the truth is with the Soviet in this matter, our columns wish to record the fact.

Under a sub-heading "Defeatist Duke", the critic turns from Ratcliffe to the Duke of Bedford. He says:—

Defeatist Duke.

Defeatism is represented, in the organ of the Strickland Press, by the writings of the Duke of

Bedford. In his "War Commentary" in the current issue of "The Word", he unashamedly uses the Allied success in North Africa as basis for advocating negotiation with the Nazis.

Then follows a quotation in which the Duke pleads for the forces of reason to make a peace approach. The critic adds:—

In his summing-up of the situation which fills him with such hope, the Duke complacently counts Russia out, as "largely crippled!"

What, ho! cripples of the Don!

A Lavish Press.

There's money in this Strickland Press. I have an interesting collection of half-a-dozen of its pamphlets, printed, in these days of paper scarcity, in astonishingly expensive style.

The heaviest, glossiest paper, in covers of high quality, is used to embalm the views of the Duke of Bedford—truly ducal style, in fact.

And just why should wealth be free now to sabbotage our cause?

We have nothing to say against the tragic heroism of the Soviet defenders, who, by the way, are becoming quite an orthodox army, with commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and signs of rank on their uniform. But when the history of the struggle is written, might it not be discovered that British and American supplies have played a tremendous part in the Soviet battlefield? The heroism is there, and also the tragedy. But how much thanks is due to the bureaucratic dictators and organisers of the Republic? Also, let it not be forgotten, that the Nazi host is entrenched still in Soviet Russia, even though its days may be numbered.

The remark about money comes ill from the Communist Party, whose remarkable changes of point on all questions, from tactics to principle, have been dictated by subsidies. We need not go into that story now, which has been discussed thoroughly in the past by the present Conservative Capitalist colleagues of the "Communists."

If our press is lavish, it is as our press has been since we started it in 1906, unsubsidised and uncontrolled. Our propaganda is above bribery and cannot be corrupted. Our press is not lavish in itself but only in relation to our means. Actually it is today as it has been always, a rather poor affair in actual staff and machinery.

We like "The Daily Worker's" phrase about wealth sabotaging **our cause!** Was "The Daily Worker" suppressed for its loyalty to our cause? Did it support **our cause** so long as the Nazi-Soviet Pact was not violated? The answer to these questions are known. They are factual and present a daring study in zig-zag opportunism and corruption. Why has not "The Daily Worker" consistently supported **our cause** since the declaration of war in September, 1939?

We have on our desk, as we write, copies of "The Scottish Daily Worker" for these dates: December 7, 9, 11, 12, 1940; January 13, 16, 17, 1941. Would our critic like us to quote from these issues at length to prove how little loyalty was shown to **our cause** by "The Daily Worker" and the "Communist" Propagandists?

And here is a quotation from "The Daily Worker" for May 14, 1940, attacking the landing of British Forces in Europe:—

On this day British working men, on the orders of the capitalist Government, face death and wounds in Belgium in the biggest and most murderous international gang fight of capitalist society that has ever been seen.

Was this loyalty to **our cause?**

In the "Labour Monthly" for December 1940, Harry Pollitt wrote:—

Labour's own daily ("Daily Herald") hails Churchill as Britain's man of destiny. That is the measure of Labour's shame, a betrayal of every principle of Socialism and Peace.

He wrote much more to the same effect. This extract is sufficient to demonstrate Harry Pollitt's loyalty to **our cause!**

Those who wish to know how well "The Daily Worker" and the "Communists" have defended **our cause** should read the L.L.P. pamphlet by Thomas Taylor, "Defend Socialism from the Communists." At no time has the Communist Party stood for principle or pursued a policy of service to mankind. The Communist Party is the most disgraceful and most corrupt episode in world politics. Its members are the most despicable and unprincipled hirelings the struggle of the classes, and the oppressions of Imperialist society, have produced. They pioneered the terrorist mentality of Fascism and they reduced the propaganda of Socialism to a verbiage of cant and hypocrisy. They combine the gifts of parrots with the instincts of vultures and so prey ceaslessly on human suffering. The Communist Party is the Russian Counter-Revolution retarding the struggle against capitalism. It has spread disease throughout the working class movement. Decent men and women everywhere should view its activity with horror.

To-day, we offend the subsidised organ of that party of corruption because we have "a lavish press!" Actually, as stated already, we have nothing of the kind. Let any worker inspect our press and see for himself. One monthly paper. A lavish press! What nonsense! But does "The Daily Worker" columnist recall the attack he made on us on September 13, 1930, under the caption, "An Anarchist's Epitaph?" It rejoiced then in the fact that we were without money and bankrupt. We were very poor because of our quarter-of-a-century of tireless propaganda, and so the stooges sneered! Now they think we have "a lavish press" and write, in opposition, but more politely. What knaves! What sycophants!

THE IMAGE OF GOD

[The following poem was published during the last war. Its author only became a Labour M.P. many years after the war, partly because of his opposition to war. We reprint the poem without permission as a reminder to poets not to inspire anti-militarism ideals and then, with dull careerism, turn pro-war.—Ed.

I slaughtered a man, a brother,
In the wild, wild fight at Mons.
I see yet his eyes of horror,
I hear yet his cries and groans.
We met on the edge of the trenches,
Where murder, in crimson, rode.
When swish went my blade to his stomach.
I'd slaughtered the Image of God.

We'd never in anger quarrelled.
We never had met before.
But someone had dreamt of conquest,
And we had to buy it with gore.
Perhaps he'd a wife and children,
Through whose hopes and dreams he strode,
With the pride of a king in his empire.
An heroic Image of God.

And I asked myself the question,
As I saw in his glazing eyes:
"Am I my brother's keeper?"
Till the sod I trod on cries:
"You made his wife a widow,
Made desolate her abode.
Your thrust made his children orphans.
You slaughtered the Image of God."

The cold, cold stars keep blinking,
And the winds make moaning sighs.
Men worship me as hero, and laud me to the skies.
But I keep on thinking dully, till my heart gets like a clod,
Of the thrust I made in the trenches
That slaughtered the Image of God.

JAMES C. WELSH.

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SOCIALISM AND MONETARY REFORM

Dear Guy Aldred,—As a Socialist there are one or two things I would certainly agree with in Sir Alliott Verdon-Roe's suggestions for monetary reform. There is no doubt that the banks with their financial prestidigations have a powerful stranglehold on the life of the community and the taking over of the banks will be a very necessary step on the part of any Socialist Government. But the banks like any other essential feature of our community lie in the hands of the ruling class, and the Government to-day is there to protect and safeguard their control and privileges, a control and privilege which has its basic expression in profit-making. Now as I understand—the labour theory of value is that surplus value is created by the worker and stolen from him by the ruling class. Now actual wealth—money has no value in itself—is raw material plus labour power, which can be used either in transforming raw materials into things useful and necessary to the life of the community, or expended in labour service necessary to the running of that community. What is the relation of this actual wealth to so-called money wealth? My knowledge of finance is confined to my pay envelope, but still I would like to ask a few simple questions about it.

When the gold standard crisis was at its height, prominent statesmen and so-called responsible editors were shivering in their shoes at the approaching, as they thought, national disaster. All this terror and gloomy prophecy was occasioned by the separation of the pound from the gold standard. When this threat did materialise without the subsequent catastrophe, the very gentlemen who had shivered in their shoes so much, now expanded their chests and shouted financial hallelujahs, crying "It's the best thing that could have happened to the country." Curiously enough whilst this grave financial problem was being decided, the railways continued to run, the mines to turn out their usual quota of coal, the baker's ovens their supply of morning rolls — this before and after the prophesied catastrophe. Apart from its affect on foreign exchange, which is merely finance again, this crisis of the gold standard, had no real basic connection, apart from superficialities, with the capacity of the community to produce real wealth and to run the necessary services. The pound was once based on gold. What was the connection between gold and real wealth? The gold was taken away, what is the pound now based on? And if it was on any new measurement, what is the relationship, between this new measurement and ultimately the pound, with real wealth?

It seems to me that if money is to have any real value it must be based on real or potential wealth, and as long as that real wealth is kept in the hands of a minority, and assuming, that money is actually based on real wealth then it is difficult to see how the ruling class would allow its representatives to create new money for the purpose of enabling the community to buy the surplus products, which glut the markets and fill the warehouses to overflowing, far less clear the debts of approved enterprises, unless that new money in itself was again based on real wealth, so that the capitalist would feel that instead of getting a lot of useless pieces of paper in return for his goods, he was getting something of real value. It is only a Socialist Government, as far as I can see, that can adjust a sane and serviceable system of exchange between producer and consumer, whether in the form of a pound note or a labour note, because the wealth of the country being in the hands of the people, and a Socialist Government being the real representatives of the people, it is only then by a proper assessment of supply and demand, that a Socialist Government by creating new labour notes, credit notes or any other kind of note, can solve the problem of overproduction, thus allowing the wealth produced by the community to return to the community. The new notes would be based on the actual surplus wealth of the community, and there would be no danger of obstruction from a minority of interests who controlling the actual wealth of the community, would regard the issue of new money as worthless pieces of paper, giving them no return in real wealth.

As I said earlier in my criticisms of monetary reform, I am not a financial expert and these are just a few of the problems which present themselves to my mind as a Socialist.

With best wishes, I am, yours sincerely,

A. FRASER DUTHIE.

Aberdeen, December 17, 1942.

[A strong Socialist article on this subject by Isaac W. Braithwaite will appear next month.—Ed.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Guy Aldred,—You and the Duke of Bedford have your kingdom right at your hand when you require anti-war propaganda. Indeed your office itself is in a slum building which I believe in all conscience to be one of the very worst in Europe. So that if you begin to develop the slum-problem here you are in on a vital theme which in the nature of things is bound to outlast the war. Thousands of people are interested in this housing problem. Indeed there are thousands now undergoing sleepless nights thinking of it.

Why should house-building be left till after the war? Surely it is an immediate war aim? Why not invite the bombed-out survivors of Clydeside to write to you for publication in "The Word?" They could and would tell us all something. In a week or two the agitation should assume such proportions as to counteract the war-propaganda effectively and progressively.

Even before the war the housing problem was a grim one here, and now it is something of real importance to the entire community. I'm certain myself it is the most important problem for the people here and elsewhere. Nearly everybody would be immediately interested here if only you'd set the demand in motion. That is, perhaps, why I doubt, with all respect, if you'll touch the housing problem here with the proverbial barge-pole.

Fraternally yours,

ALEXANDER McARTHUR.

Glasgow, C.5, January 5, 1943.

Dear Sir,—Please discontinue sending any further copies of "The Word" to my house — cancel the remainder of my order.

I cannot tolerate your unkind attitude to Russia any longer, and far from distributing the copies received this morning, I have handed them over for waste to the refuse man.

No wonder your appeal for funds finds no support —when you understand that the people's heart and mind is with Russia, and that Russia alone is fighting this terror of Nazism—when you stick to your guns as an atheist, and not allow the publication of the religious dope, but use your paper to remove the silly superstition and rot from the people's minds, encourage the sensible and only way—then and then only will we rally and support you.

Meanwhile I have stuck it as long as I can, please strike my name from your lists.

Yours faithfully,

H. J. GRIFFITHS.

Rhyl, Flintshire, June 6, 1943.

P.S. This article by Kaikhorsu Shapurji Sorabji is about the last straw—if you cannot help Russia, you can at least keep quiet, still I do not think your paper now carries much weight amongst the masses.

[This sort of thing happens to all radical journals. We are grateful to our friend for his intolerance and inability to reason. It provides an admirable study in "Communist" and military psychology. The refuse men made good use of "The Word." As a result of their research, we now have 20 personal subscribers in Rhyl that we did not possess before the public employees of Rhyl took a hand in the game of circulation. And one comrade has ordered 50 copies to be sent to him for circulation. Congratulations, Mr. Griffiths!—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—As one of the subscribers to "The Word", I would like to say how much I appreciate its fine matter and stand against the most horrible violence of these days. The contribution, "The Cure", by the Rev. Le Messurier was terrible beyond imagination. Had he indeed such a revolting experience in his own memory? War is a series of such things. Is it more wicked or more absolutely silly? That is what I am asking myself always.

I should like to know how you regard the question of vivisection and animal research, of which the most advertised branch, just now, perhaps, is Immunisation —so-called.

You will remember, perhaps, the Tail Waggers' Case. I was the defendant. But I shall know, to the end of my days, that I ought to have brought it off.

Do you not think that our exploitation of these living beings—animals subject to experiment and then slaughter—is fundamentally allied to all human exploitation. We have grades of importance: animals; less important humans: then the experts and the great. But it means greed, selfishness; in short, materialism!

Yours sincerely,

BLANCHE A. WATSON.

Hull, Yorks.

Dear Guy Aldred,—"The Cure", by the Rev. Le Messurier, is terrible, but needed to be said. I feel that the crime and horror of war hardly can be exaggerated, when we consider the awfulness of the weapons employed, and the blasphemous hatred and the violence of the thought that is being broadcast today.

I feel dreadfully sorry that "The Word" should be jeopardised for want of money. I only wish that it were in our power to help. Alas! it is not. I do think, though, that it might be better known in Hull and neighbourhood.

My sister and I wish you every success in the great work you are doing, and we hope that many who are able to come to your rescue will do so.

Yours sincerely,

Hull. ELEANOR WATSON.

Dear Friends,—The literature I received from you recently—i.e., "Richard Carlile", "The Devil's Chaplain", and 'Dogmas Discarded"—has proved most interesting. One point has puzzled me since reading Carlile. How is it, that, although Richard Carlile and Robert Taylor, were persecuted for propagating their views and publishing banned works, they were allowed, when in prison, to continue their writing, and to have published, material similar to that which had led to their prosecution. Can you explain?

With Best Wishes to you all.

Yours sincerely,

STANLEY H. ELLISDON.

Ilford, Essex, 17/12/42.

[This matter has been dealt with in "The Word" and also in "The Spur." Our comrade ought to read Leigh Hunt's account of his imprisonment. Carlile was imprisoned before the Reform Act. It is absurd to think that, in these days of alleged democratic parliamentarism under alleged "Socialist" Secretaries of State, political prisoners and prisoners for heresy and blasphemy should be treated worse than such prisoners in the days of Castlereagh and Eldon. It is a fact, however, and an indictment of our "Socialist" parliamentarism.—Ed.]

Dear Guy,—I was discharged from Lincoln Prison yesterday, December 19th, after serving 4 months of my 6 months' sentence. I served the whole of the sentence at Lincoln.

I wish to thank you for the publicity you gave to my case in the October and November issues of "The Word."

During my imprisonment, I had plenty of time for thought and I left prison more convinced, than ever, of the righteousness of our cause. Yes, I am a firmer Socialist and Pacifist than I was at the time of my sentence.

Prison is a most unpleasant experience. It is very, very unpleasant at times. But I have found that, inspired by a good cause, one's principles prove firm and confidence develops in oneself. The inconvenience and persecution promote an understanding sense of humour, and soon there is nothing to fear.

Until my imprisonment, I felt that it was a privilege to be associated, in a very small way, with the many grand comrades, of both sexes, all ages, and all ranks and conditions, who constitute our great movement of witnessing for the sacred cause of humanity and peace. To-day, I feel more privileged, as having a real place in this movement, since I have been called upon to suffer for our principles. Yet I am aware that, by comparison, my experience is mere dust and ashes. Still, I have witnessed and I am honoured that you recorded so faithfully my stand. I will try to deserve the publicity you gave me.

I do not regret having taken my definite stand as a Pacifist and a Socialist and an opponent of all war.

I remain, in the struggle

Yours fraternally,

NORMAN LEVERITT.

Spalding, December 20, 1942.

Photograph reproduced from a story in "The Daily Mirror."

FATHER & SIX SONS ALL CONCHIES

On page 76 we publish a letter from our Streatham Anarchist comrade, Alfred C. Toye. Comrade Toye and his six sons were all born, in a manner of speaking, to the profession of optics. Each served an apprenticeship to Sight Testing and Spectacle Making as City of London Apprentices, and have received the Freedom of the City in recognition of service to the craft. Alfred, Charles, John, Albert, Henry, Stanley, at the outbreak of the present war, each had his own Professional Practice at Streatham, Dagenham, Twickenham, Wembley, Hounslow and Putney. Their professional status did not cause them to repudiate their principle of war resistance and opposition to capitalist Society when the time came to avow their views.

Dear Guy Aldred,—The enclosed letter I received from an anonymous writer who as you see signs himself as an "Englishman." It shows you to what extent victimisation will go even in these days of so-called enlightenment.

Amongst the more obvious mistakes the writer has made, is the fact that we are by no means a "safe" area having received our share of bombs and casualties, etc. Also, he seems ignorant of the fact that I am a lorry-driver pressed into National Service, i.e., Agriculture, and that I had to get the shop managed as best I could under the utmost difficulties. The fact that I have been on the dole twice and experienced pawn-shops, etc., perhaps accounts for the fact that I am disinclined to close down a business I have built up through much travail, much as he would be overjoyed to see me do so. Needless to say the letter came without a stamp (5d. to pay).

This letter from "An Englishman" will give readers an idea of the sort of people they may come up against in "The New World!"

Yours sincerely,

W. S. KAY.

Bramley, Surrey, December 17, 1942.

LETTER RECEIVED BY COMRADE W. S. KAY.

Dear Sir,—I understand that you belong to the Peace Movement and have been exempted from National Service on grounds of conscience. I would like to make it clear to you that almost everyone in Britain is a Pacifist by nature and outlook—but, when a race of brutes in Europe rise and would rob us of our lives and freedoms, we are justified in resisting them. When this same race massacres and mutilates tens upon thousands of men, women and children, we are doing a Christian act in bringing them to book.

If, however, there are amongst us a few—a very few—thank God—who have no courage, who have weak and flabby minds, who hide behind protestations of disturbed consciences at the thought of physical war—then those few miserable and useless persons should hide themselves with their shameful and cowardly thoughts.

That you and your family have the audacity and hyprocrisy to keep a shop open and make as much money as you can from the outcome of war, is surely an indication that your blood is of water and your colour yellow.

To add to this infamy you do not hesitate—with your family—to broadcast your wretched little ideas to your customers.

The writer is taking it upon himself to inform the authorities on the matter. Not the local ones—but those actually in authority in the highest places.

In conclusion I would consider it a salutory lesson if you were transported to an area where death and desolation reigned, where lives and homes were destroyed frequently, but where the inhabitants showed infinite courage and demanded retaliations, e.g., Plymouth, Coventry, etc.

There your miserable little souls would surely find shame, and perhaps a very latent spark of manhood and womanhood assert itself.

I do hope that you do not also degrade the name of Christ by dragging Him in to cover your weak and cowardly professions.

In the meantime thank your lucky stars that you are in the safest area in England and that millions of our men are protecting you.

From "AN ENGLISHMAN."

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I would like to tell you that my wife and I are reading your book "Why Jesus Wept." It is a fine piece of work, splendidly written; and there are many passages of nice perception and subtle expression. The section—"The Philanthropist", which I read aloud to my wife last night, is, we think,

CHURCHILLISM FOUNDED ON VANSITTARTISM

By The Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.
(Minister, Great Meeting House, Coventry)

OUTLINE OF ARGUMENT.

There are ardent Churchill supporters who renounce Vansittart. But Churchill's policy is really bound up with the Vansittart theory. Here are Churchill's propositions: (1) Victory; (2) No Parley; (3) No Hope for Germans: crush them; (4) A Dictated Peace; (5) Germany disarmed and in chains. These items of policy imply Vansittart's articles of faith: (1) Germans the only aggressors; (2) Germans possess a double dose of original sin; (3) The Innocence of the Versailles Treaty. It is because Churchill believes in the radical sinfulness of Germans and our holy innocence that he presses for victory at all costs.

Acland once saw differently. The Atlantic Charter is inspired by Vansittart, especially Clause 8. Surrender, the result of Churchill's strategy, thus far, is not the only alternative. The constant proclamation of terms with no annexation, no indemnities, no humiliations is the alternative to Churchillism's blind crusade. Stalin's Order of the Day (Feb. 23, 1942) suggests the right attitude. Hitler MIGHT, like Churchill, pursue the phantom of victory but the proclamation of decent terms would bring the end of the war nearer. Cripps warns us of the dangers of a long war.

There are those who denounce Vansittart and all his works. They recognise the harm he does to the Allied cause and the help he gives to Goebbels and German propaganda. These very same denouncers of Vansittart uphold Winston Churchill and their leader and back up his policy of the vigorous prosecution of the war to the bitter end. Yet if we examine the Churchill policy and face clearly his general attitude, he shares the Vansittart outlook and implicitly or explicitly stands for the very worst of the Vansittart falsehoods and hypocrisies. If you follow Churchill, you ought to acclaim Vansittart as a prophet and his aim in the war is the destructive and futile purpose of this breeder of hate and endless murder. I have certain well-known Never Endians in my mind who belong to the Left and support this war. They pose as Idealists who really love peace and deem this the real war to end war and bring in the reign of the common people. We will leave names out of the picture in the meantime and consider the articles in the Churchill Creed.

I. Article No. I. is described by Mr. Churchill on May 12:

VICTORY.

You ask what is our aim. I can answer in one word. It is Victory. Victory at all costs. Victory in spite of all error. Victory however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival.

In other words, to have your heel on the neck of the enemy is the fundamental aim of the Churchill policy.

NO PARLEY.

II. No terms can be made with Hitler.

"We will mete out to the Germans the measure and more than the measure they have meted out to us.

We will have no truce nor parley with you nor with the grisly gang who work your blessed will.

It is time the Germans should be made to suffer in their own homeland and cities something of the torments they have inflicted upon their neighbours and upon the world."

NO HOPE FOR GERMANS.

III. The third article in the Churchill creed is: Let us give nothing to assure the German minority they will get any measure of justice. Mr. Churchill again and again, has alluded to them with contempt as the Huns.

A DICTATED PEACE.

IV. The object of victory is to secure one more dictated peace where the terms are laid down by the conqueror and imposed on the defeated foe.

UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.

V. The Atlantic Charter with all its fair phrases discriminates between the Holy Innocents who are to be victors and the criminal aggressors who alone made the war. The victors are to be the police; the defeated to be disarmed and kept disarmed by brute force.

Everyone of these articles is based on the Vansittart philosophy, which can be stated in three sentences.

The Germans are the only aggressors.

Their aggression is due to a double dose of original sin.

The evil nature of the Germans, not the Versailles Treaty or economic circumstances is the only cause of Hitlerism and the present war.

If we look for a moment at the Churchill policy which our Labour intellectuals and place men support we shall see that it is applied Vansittartism. Vansittart might as well be in the Cabinet for his spirit saturates every speech of Churchill. The belief in victory as the only way to future security is obviously pure Vansittartism. It is also inverted Hitlerism. Hitler has the same childish insane faith in the power of the sword to bring a German peace. Vansittart and his clique have proved failures in their task as diplomatists and now they ask the soldiers to make up for their failures by a holocaust of destruction and death.

The refusal to trust Hitler's word and the contempt for the German people are both founded on the Vansittart theory. It is assumed that no terms can be framed which will win over the German workers and compel Hitler to make a decent peace. Vansittart with Churchill believes that a grisly gang of murderers made the war and only their humiliation and destruction can end it. There are no wrongs done by Britain and France in the past which need to be righted. It is useless to offer terms of justice. Hitler's word is worthless and he would keep no pledge he had given. The German people are tied up with Hitler. What applies to one applies to the other. This policy is manifestly based on the Vansittart estimate of the utter degradation of the German race. Churchill revealed his mind in that broadcast where he asserted that some Germans are curable but all are killable. There are two or three things to be said about this attitude.

Hitler is not the only statesman who has broken his pledged word again and again. There are terms to be framed which in themselves would guarantee against treachery by Hitler or anyone else. The whole object of statesmanship is to divide from Hitler by a wide appeal those who are capable of responding to terms of abnormal justice. Sir Richard Ackland when he was not so dominated by the war mania saw the only way to overcome Hitlerism.

The German people followed Hitler because they saw no other hope and it is because they despaired then we are fighting them now. If we have no other idea but to force them to accept from us the same kind of terms as we imposed last time they will fight us to the death, maybe for ten years.

We can only hope for an early end of this war if we can prove to the German people not by words but by deeds that we mean to build an entirely different and better world.

Churchillism, in spite of the Atlantic Charter, offers no such better world to Germany.

All it offers is another dictated peace a peace dictated by America and Britain might be far better than one dictated by a victorious Hitler but it would most assuredly lead to another world war in the next generation or before. Such dictation implies a superiority complex on the part of the United Nations, a monopoly of wisdom compared with the German hordes. Victor Gollanz says the temper of the Atlantic Charter is very different from that of the Vansittartites. In assuming the role of Holy Innocents whose word is divine law, there is little difference. Clause Eight of the Charter is pure Vansittartism. It proposes the unilateral disarmament of the enemy powers who are assumed to be the only possible aggressors. As Gollanz admits, this will not prevent another war. It will make another war inevitable, sooner or later. But this plan of Clause 8 to disarm the Axis and keep down the enemy powers by military occupation over five or ten years is applied vansittartism. It is based on the dogma of the Island Pharisees. In our British record there is neither spot nor blemish nor any such thing. Duff Cooper stated it baldly the other day "We are the greatest people on earth!" Let us tell it to the world and let them join in the Seven-fold Amen. Those who subscribe to the Churchillian dogma victory or nothing are, whether they are conscious of it or not, Vansittartists. I have in mind men like Laski, Sir Richard Ackland, Gollancz who accept the Churchill leadership and subscribe to his policy. Yet they hope, somehow, there will emerge from victory a European Revolution and a new Socialist society in Britain and all over Europe. In their view, as Laski says, we have either to break the power of Hitler or surrender. There is no middle term.

The Laski school charge anti-Churchillites with advocating surrender. This is very curious. Because by following Churchill's strategy they have had to admit one shameful surrender after another. Moreover, the most likely outcome of the pursuit of victory will be the fading out of Hitler (and possibly Churchill) and a patched-up peace of weary and disgusted belligerents.

Surrender is not the only alternative. The other way is to let the Germans know, without a peradventure, that a peace based on justice can be had any time. Such a peace would lay down the same conditions for all belligerents. It would regard all belligerents as possible aggressors and also as possible co-operators in building up a new Europe. There would be in such a peace no assumption of super holiness on behalf of any nation. It might happen that Hitler would stick to his war-gains and reject such proposals. They would still be open for any German Government to accept. But the offer of such terms on the lines of Stalin's Order of the Day in February would do more to destroy Hitlerism's worst phases than all the futile strategy or vain rhetoric of Mr. Churchill.

Stalin's Order of the Day, February 23, 1942, should form the basis of Britain and American policy. Stalin said:—

It would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State. History teaches us that Hitlers come and Hitlers go but the German people and the German State remain.

If this were the invariable attitude of British official utterances there would soon be in sight a German people eager to seek a reasonable peace.

The real alternatives are going blindly on with a war which is destroying civilization for at least a generation, or seeking the way to peace now and trying to save something from the wreckage on which to build a new order. Churchillism stands for this policy of blind destruction. What it means Cripps saw clearly soon after the war started, when his vision was not obscured by the dazzlement of office.

If we continue with the war which will last much more than three years, the British Empire and indeed British Capitalism will never survive the strain. We may go down in a welter of blood or we may, if we are lucky, survive as the conquerors, but the civilisation we have known in the past will not survive.

This propheecy of Cripps is being fulfilled before our eyes. The United Nations are imitating and going beyond, in some respects, the barbarous methods of the enemy. And for this wallowing in the pit of murderous destruction, the left wing supporters of Mr. Churchill have a deep responsibility.

All Pacifists and Socialist comrades living in West Central London who remain in communion with the Church of England, should attend the services held at The Church of The Holy Cross in S. Panceras with S. Jude, every Sunday, morning and evening. They should write to the Vicar, asking for a copy of his weekly leaflet. Please enclose postage.

the most true and beautiful tribute to the real greatness and goodness of Jesus that we have read.

All good wishes.

E. E. BRISCOE.

Hever, Kent, December 16, 1942.

Dear Comrade Guy,—I must thank you for Strickland's "March of Homicide" and Carlile's "Jail Journal", which I am now reading. Both authors are powerful champions of Liberty, and your own life follows closely in the footsteps of Richard Carlile.

I am much inspired by reading "Jail Jottings." Carlile undoubtedly had much understanding.

I should like to see more space given to Anarchist thought in "The Word"—articles on Bakunin, Malatesta and Durruti.

With all good wishes for the coming New Year and sincere Socialist Greetings.

SIDNEY KAYE.

Rickmansworth, Herts, 28/12/42.

Dear Comrade Guy Aldred,—I have received the beautifully bound copy of "The Word." It is a wonderful book and I wish that every worker might have a copy at his or her elbow: what a storehouse of wisdom and courage. It is a treasured volume and I turn to it again and again with real happiness and pleasure.

Last night I read your article on "Militarism and Woodlands", and I was so moved by it that I re-read it to my husband. There was no need for apology in reproducing such an article. I felt the pathos and the pity of your position at the time when you wrote. And I was moved almost to tears by the beauty and sadness of your reverie; but at the same time I felt filled with the bitterest resentment against the puffed up fools who could shut away genius and attemp to break its spirit. Surely you, as well as Jesus, have known the bitterness of Gethsemane and almost the loneliness and friendlessness of Calvary.

When I read the shoals of letters you receive I am so glad you have so many appreciative friends but what a pity that when you needed help the most, your so-called comrades were missing!

This brings me to my reactions to your ideas expressed in your essays, especially "Why Jesus Wept."

I don't think I'm so much shocked as annoyed, yes annoyed at myself for my laziness in not thinking things out more honestly. I don't think I've ever really thought seriously about Jesus as a revolutionary simply because he has never been presented in precisely that light to me.

My real idea of Jesus has been some one to whom I could reach out when needing inspiration and solace and I have felt (rather as the Duke of Bedford suggests) that without the living Jesus, I could never achieve anything worthwhile or be able to deal with tiresome people with kindliness and justice or overcome my shortcomings; he has been, and is, what you would term a "prop" to bolster up my acknowledged human frailty.

I find, on re-reading "Why Jesus Wept", that I like the portrait of Jesus you present there much better than the hazy one I had formed before. When stripped of the foolish fripperies which have draped his life and character, your Jesus is a lovely and lovable man, and I like him with his understanding of the poor and downtrodden, and his desire to give them a fuller life, much better than the ethereal figure we have been accustomed to.

Your words and phrases are inspired by the understanding of one who, too, is inspired with love for suffering humanity and it is only one who has himself known the bitterness and loneliness of sacrifice who could deal so sympathetically with the character of Jesus.

I haven't bothered much about God for a long time. I have thought, I must admit, what a horrible person he must be if one has to lie down and fawn at his feet promising to reward him for a life that is none of our own choosing for the air we breathe and for all the things which are part of our human life, but most of all his failure to respond when we approach him and his general air of aloof superiority.

Curiously enough, I hadn't pictured him as an earthly king sat upon a throne with a few favourites round him, deat to the cry of the poor and oppressed as you portray him. But I realise that is the kind of god we have had thrust upon us, an exact replica of the human kind: as you suggest in your quotation from Emerson, a picture of the meanness of man's mind in its most corrupt form.

I thought your definition of tears was most beautiful. It brought home to me the tragedy of the life of Jesus more forcibly than I have ever known any account of his life to do. Bitter tears are the symbols of pity and understanding and I feel that your essay has made me realise the significance of that terse sentence "Jesus wept."

I have to confess that I have never read Carlile, and I do not know much about his character and works. I am anxious to read your biography of him.

May the blessings of the workers bear you up and keep you, never lonely but aware of our thoughts of you is the warmest wish of yours most sincerely,

MABEL HOWARD.

Boston, Lincs, 28/12/42.

[Comrades who are interested in our views of Jesus should obtain "Why Jesus Wept" and "The Rebel and His Disciples." On the evolution of Christian doctrine they ought to read our "Historical and Traditional Christianity." The first pamphlet is 6d. and the other two are 4d. each. Postage is 2d. extra in each case.—Ed.]

My Dear Guy Aldred,—The Glorious Gospel of Discontent, has been my love since a boy. I recall the days of Karl Marx, William Morris, Prince Kropotkin, Louise Mitchell, Blatchford, Ingersoll, Annie Besant, G. W. Foot, John Burns, when we met and sang in chorus "The Carmagnol," William Morris's inspiring songs, and "Bonny Annie Lawrie", in memory of the 7 Anarchist martyrs of Chicago. That rebel Gospel of Discontent was my life's young blood and now in my declining years it inspires me still. I feel sure I shall be true to the gospel till death and I am no less sure that, one day, mankind will dwell in commonweal and freedom.

I am the proud father of six sons, all Conscientious Objectors. I enclose a picture of them together with myself taken by "The Daily Mirror." We are all opticians.

As paradoxical as it may seem, my adherence to the Gospel of Discontent has given me in my old age a contentment that passes my understanding. When I die, I shall leave behind eight confirmed anarchists, six sons and two daughters. One of the girls is also an opticim in her own practice.

My attention was drawn to your publication "The Word" at a family Christmas party. We all went out for a drink when one of my sons said, "here is an old Socialist, dad", introducing a stranger. It took but a very little conversation for me to learn he was one of the old school—an Anarchist. On leaving we invited him home for a song round the fire. He sang two good old comic songs, and then said: the price of the books is two pence," and brought out about a dozen copies of "The Word." Midst our laughter and jokes he soon sold out. Then I discovered he knew the tune and the words of an old song that I knew well. So we sang a duet and this was it:

Steer wide of the poison of the press,
Leave your grand old mass-leaders alone.
It will pay you for your pains,
If you'll educate your brains,
And do a little thinking of your own, your own, your own.
Yes, and do a little thinking of your own.
When leisure and pleasure will be free,
When hardship and hunger will go,
When the worker has his place at the top of the tree,
And the landlord is somewhere down below, below, below,
And the landlord is somewhere down below.
Then it was the boys' turn.
A jolly good song jolly well sung
Jolly good company every one.

That took me back to the old days for a few minutes. My musing must have been noticed somehow, for one of the boys pointing at me, said: "Die-hard is himself again." Then came a great big Christmas laugh from all the company.

Yes, I have had a jolly Christmas and I feel grateful to "The Word" for reviving old memories. With an old man memories are the real thing on which he lives. For the young man, potentialities constitute better fare.

Let us hasten the day when the vision of "The Word" will be translated into visible creation of a new and true society. I enclose my subscription. Please see that I get "The Word" regularly. Put me in touch, if you can, with any Anarchists, Pacifists, and genuine Socialists in or near Streatham.

Fraternally and eternally yours,

ALFRED C. TOYE.

Streatham, London, S.W.16., Dec. 28, 1942.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been in the habit of regularly reading "The Word" for some time now, and I must say I thoroughly appreciate this astonishingly outspoken organ of the United Socialist Movement. But I understand from your appeals that you are desperately in need of funds if you are to continue to publish this paper. Now, I would not like to see the publication of this unique paper suspended for lack of funds. But the unfortunate truth is, that being only a common or garden land worker, I just haven't any spare money to give to your cause. But what I do suggest is that you raise the price of your paper to cover the cost of its production. Personally, I would be quite willing to pay anything up to 6d. a copy, although I am poor. I honestly think it is worth more than we pay at present. I think you will be forced to do this, unless some wealthy Pacifist admirer of the paper gives you the necessary funds.

Yours faithfully,

H. J. KEEBLE (Junr.)

Woodside, London, S.E.25, 29/12/42.

Dear Editor and Friend, — I am a conscientious objector and I wish to become an annual subscriber and reader of "The Word." I am a lover of Christ; therefore for me there is no hope for this dark world but in the Light of Christ. The Duke of Bedford, I believe, has come in contact with that Light, and in it he has found courage enough to stand against the perpetrators of war sin. Against reason, truth and sanity, which is the work of those who love darkness. Yes, I take my hat off to him and say, "There is a man who is fit enough and strong enough to lead us in the name of Christ to peace and in peace."

Oh for men like the Duke of Bedford. I have read most of his pamphlets and his speeches, and again I say: "Thank God for such men, they are few and far apart.

I must thank you too for your good work, and stand for peace. We may differ in our beliefs in Religion but for peace we are brothers under the skin So I say, if I may, keep up the good work. Believe it or not the moral fight against war, against political corruption, which involves the lives of millions is the highest moral fight possible. The moral fight is the work of Christ, for He was and still is the Prince of Peace, the Counsellor, Leader and Saviour of mankind: not excluding the German, Italian and Japanese.

Yours faithfully,

D. G. LODWICK.

Briton Ferry, 29/12/42.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Please accept my belated Xmas Greetings and also £5 (note) towards the upkeep of "The Word" which is doing such good work in keeping alive a spirit of real democracy.

During the last war, when I was a boy, whistling the jingo national anthems of the "Allies" of that particular war, any press reports of yourself gave me the impression that you were some sinister figure that lurked in the shadows to destroy everything that humans hold dear. Even the pale pink Ramsay "Mac" was called a Red Firebrand. Shades of Truth!

All this goes to prove of course that even if the grand case you put up so consistently, in "The Word", only converts one person each issue it is doing good work, especially if every convert is a live wire. I personally maintain the Christian Pacifist position and appreciate the fair way you deal with all expressions of opinion however contrary to your own.

I must remain anonymous while giving money, and as a receipt you can acknowledge through "The Word" to:

Yours sincerely,

"MANUSCRIPT."

Edinburgh, Xmas Day, 1942.

[Other letters, a great volume all meriting publication, and from all parts of the English-speaking world, are held over. Some will be published next month. "Three Wigan Busmen" sent a donation and an encouraging letter requesting that "The Word carry on.—Ed.]

BOOKS AT REDUCED PRICES.

THE QUINTESSENCE OF BERNARD SHAW. By Henry Charles Duffin. Reduced to 2/6. Post 4d.

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THE FALL OF THE KAISER. By Maurice Baumont. (Translated from the French by E. I. James. Was 7/6, now 1/6. Post 5d.

THREE ASPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION By Emile Vandervelde. (Translated by Jean E. H. Findlay). Was 5/-, now 1/6. Post5d.

THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENTS. By Edwyn Bevan. Was 6/-, now 2/-. Post 4d.

THE UNDERWORLD OF STATE. By Stan Harding. With an introduction by Bertrand Russell. Was 6/-, now 1/3. Post 5d.

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A PATH TO WALK ON

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

(*Concluded from page* 64.)

It has been pointed out earlier in this article that a peace-settlement reached as a result of wise diplomacy would secure for each party important gains but would of necessity also involve some sacrifices. The Democracies, in addition to preserving the lives of thousands of their finest men and, it may be, of many women and children as well, would secure the deliverance of conquered and occupied countries. They would also have an extremely effective fourfold defence against possible future acts of aggression—the defence of just treatment of the Axis people which would deprive their rulers of the propaganda weapons necessary to secure support for a new war; the defence of a capacity to exploit to the uttermost the unpleasant memories of war-sacrifice in the minds of the Axis people; the defence of very thorough safeguards, based on adequate facilities and supervision and on the actual performance of undertakings; and the defence of the power of their own armaments to give protection or enforce a threat in the event of treachery or misconduct. (I am of course aware that Pacifists, of whom I am one, are sceptical as to the value of such "defence" but non-Pacifists attach the utmost importance to it.) In regard to the freeing of conquered or occupied territories, the point is perhaps worth bearing in mind that the inhabitants of some of these territories might prefer not to be under the control either of their present or of their former masters. The people of the Ukraine, for example, might wish to be independent alike of Soviet and German rule; but, provided that they were not exploited, an arrangement might be reached which allowed Germans and non-Ukrainian Russians facilities to assist in the development of the natural resources of the country and to obtain thereby reasonable advantages for their own people in accordance with the general plan for the fair sharing of the world's economic resources. An important point often overlooked is the fact that, provided natural wealth is developed, the actual ownership of an area of land is a comparatively minor detail; what do matter infinitely more **are the arrangements which decide who is to be allowed to buy the goods produced from the land, when these are placed on the market.**

A somewhat similar arrangement to that suggested for the Ukraine might possibly be arrived at with regard to Burma, that country being granted her independence, but facilities being allowed both to the British and to the Japanese to assist in the development of the country with a better regard than has hitherto been shown for the rights and welfare of the native inhabitants.

Some conditions might even be laid down with regard to the liberation from the worst forms of injustice and oppression of minorities living within Axis territories, but if this were to be attempted, it is clear that the Democracies, also, must be prepared to show equal consideration to minorties under their own control.

So much for the very real gains which the Democracies might achieve—gains embodying the most essential elements in practical victory. They would, however, need to make certain sacrifices, not unreasonable in view of the gains. Their offers of fair treatment in the economic field would have to be genuine offers and once and for all they would have to cut adrift from men and policies restricting, in the interests of money-lending financiers and Big Business monopolists, the production and distribution of the world's wealth.

They would also have to be prepared to forego the exaction of reparation payments. These, however superficially attractive to the moral sense, have in practice proved difficult to collect and very unfair in their incidence, falling most heavily on persons with little or no responsibility for the war. Moreover, if the choice were offered to the citizens of the conquered or occupied countries whether they would rather have peace and freedom now on fair conditions but without reparations; or further years of war with a doubtful chance of reparations at the finish, their vote would be overwhelmingly in favour of the former alternative. A far better arrangement than any form of reparations would be co-operation by the belligerents on both sides in restoring prosperity to countries which had suffered most severely through the war. The Democracies would also, of course, have to forego the chance of putting enemy war criminals on trial, as well as the very burdensome and very expensive "satisfaction" of occupying Axis countries and educating their youthful inhabitants.

The gains for the Axis, which would be both an inducement to their leaders to accept the proposals of wise diplomacy and a powerful weapon to use against the leaders with their own people if they decided to reject the terms, would be a fair share of the world's economic resources; freedom from the hostile actions of International Finance; freedom from the danger of any military alliance operating unfairly; relief from further war casualties and war damage; and the chance to go ahead immediately with plans for post-war reconstruction.

The Axis would, however, have to restore political independence to occupied or conquered countries and, subject, of course, to receiving the economic advantages already mentioned, relinquish some of the plans they may at present entertain for the definite annexation of areas whose populations do not desire their rule.

Citizens of the Democracies who are much concerned with the question of adequate military defence for their own countries and those of their Allies would have no cause for nervousness. They would not be required to place themselves at any kind of military disadvantage and ample safeguards would be insisted on against treacherous armed attack. The only concession they would have to make would be the perfectly reasonable one of allowing the Axis guarantees of security similar to those they demanded for themselves and for their friends.

Pacifists could support wise diplomacy as a means of bringing to an early end the slaughter of war with its attendant mental and spiritual evils and they could rejoice in, and make good us of, the restoration of those international contacts which are necessary to the promotion of good-fellowship among the nations, leading ultimately to world disarmament.

They would, however, for a time be compelled to tolerate an arrangement which retained armed force as a **potential** instrument of international policy.

Wise diplomacy would benefit the Jews as, in common with other people, they would share in deliverance from war casualties. If wise diplomacy brought hostilities to an early conclusion, it would check immediately to a very important extent the continued progress of Axis persecution and it would open the way to action of various kinds for the relief and assistance of the Jews. An early end to the war would also check the growth of anti-Semitic feeling in Britain and America where the hardships, irritations and anxieties of war encourage the pursuit of scapegoats. Nothing incidentally is more contemptible than the policy of those individuals who are by no means rare and who, while neglecting to support measures which would give practical help to Jews on the Continent, utilize, and indeed welcome, a continued supply of stories of persecution in order that, by atrocity propaganda, they may be aided in prolonging the war.

On the other hand, the Jews would need to show themselves willing to exercise a measure of patience. Human nature and world conditions being what they are, they could hardly expect to secure immediately the full redress of every grievance and the complete reversal of every hostile measure. Progress, it is to be hoped, would not be slow, but in some respects it would inevitably be gradual.

I have so far dealt with the gains and sacrifices associated with the employment of wise diplomacy as these would affect some of the most influential groups of people. I should like, however, to refer more briefly to other classes to whom wise diplomacy can offer benefits of infinite value and who should therefore accord it their most active support. There are, for example, the Service men enduring, it may be, years of exile from their homes and exposed to all the dangers and privations of war; merchant seamen sharing the same dangers; prisoners eating out their hearts in internment camps; anxious relatives longing for the return of those whom they love; children deprived of their parents' care by reason of war conditions; members of the medical profession whose concern is for their patients' welfare and not merely for their fees and who are now compelled to watch the steady increase of tuberculosis and other diseases; social workers who deplore the moral injury inflicted by war conditions, especially on the young; business men ruined, or faced with ruin, by the closing down of their businesses or by loss of trade; invalid and elderly people deprived of proper care by the conscription of relatives or attendants; scientists and those who are concerned with cultural pursuits who watch the gradual stifling of all that adds beauty and interest to civilised life under the deadening hand of war; men of creative ability and organising power impatient for destruction to end and reconstruction to begin.

Last, but not least, our politicians would do well to give their support to wise diplomacy lest, when their country's safety and welfare have been committed to their charge, by lack of imagination, obstinacy and a rigidity of mind which fails to adapt itself to unforeseen conditions, they end by destroying what it is their duty to preserve, wrecking all chance of a successful political career after the war has ended, and earning not the admiration of posterity, but its contempt.

The most outstanding characteristic of the nightmare world in which we are living is the unnecessary folly of it all and the simple obviousness of the remedy. A little imagination, a little goodwill, a little understanding of human nature, a little capacity to handle men, a profound distrust of propaganda—that is all we need. I said earlier in the war that if "two madmen" (Hitler and Mussolini) have really made millions of people behave towards each other as the citizens of Europe are now behaving, then the millions must be madder than the two. Is this not true and if it be true, is it not plain as daylight that an alternative must exist to madness?

If brave men had not resisted authority, even to the blazing faggots, the black pall of superstition would still lie on the face of this land as it lies on the face of Spain.

—Wordsworth Donisthorpe.

WANTED. — Old Freethought and Socialist pamphlets, papers, books. Carlile, Holyoake, Foote, Hyndman, etc.—WILLIAM WATSON, 27 Canal St., Kirkintilloch.

RICHARD CARLILE'S DEATH CERTIFICATE

This is an official copy of the death certificate issued to Carlile's son, Alfred Carlile. In copying it, a mistake must have been made, as Carlile's name was spelt without the "s." In our December issue we reproduced from "The Times," London, an account of the funeral.

REGISTRATION DISTRICT CITY OF LONDON

1843. DEATH in the Sub-District of South West District in the ~~County~~ City of London Union

No.	When and Where Died.	Name and Surname.	Sex.	Age.	Rank or Profession.	Cause of Death.	Signature, Description and Residence of Informant.	When Registered.	Signature of Registrar.
95	Tenth of February 1843 Whitefriars Precinct	Richard Carlisle	Male	52 years	Bookseller	Bronchitis	Alfred Carlisle 1 Louvaria St. Prescot St. Tower.	Twenty fifth of February 1843	William Arnott Registrar

CARLILE'S COMMONSENSE

Our comrade, Dr. Charles Brook, publishes the following letter in "The Medical World," for January 15, 1943:—

Sir,—Last Sunday afternoon a primipera in the later thirties gave birth without warning to twins.

Her own doctor is now absent on war service, and an attempt was made to contact me, but I was out on visits.

A hospital was then telephoned and the mother and twins were after some delay removed by ambulance. Unfortunately both the babies were dead....

Early last Wednesday morning a dying cat was found on the mat outside my front door.

Having no knowledge of veterinary medicine I telephoned the police. Not very long elapsed before a constable arrived, followed shortly afterwards by a veterinary surgeon in a car. The cat was removed and although I offered to pay the vet's fee, it was declined as I understand that this service is provided by the R.S.P.C.A.

I cannot do better than quote from an essay by Richard Carlile, the great English Libertarian, the centenary of whose death will be celebrated on February 10 next (but not by the B.B.C.).

This essay was written in 1827 and is included in Carlile's "Jail Journal," edited by Guy A. Aldred and recently published by the Strickland Press, Glasgow.

Carlile wrote:—

"Men and women subscribe money for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but forget to include their own species, the animal man, in the common benefit. This animal nature is a strange mystery."

Yes, Richard Carlile, whose greatest talent was his plain downright English commonsense, wrote these words in 1827; and yet while in 1943 there is an admirable emergency service for dumb animals, there is no domiciliary emergency medical service for human beings. Yours, etc.,

London. CHARLES BROOK.

Dr. Brook's great work on Richard Carlile, entitled "Carlile and The Surgeons," will be published this month.

PEACE AIMS GROUPS

A public meeting was held at St. Thomas' School, Caroline Street, Wigan, on Wednesday, January 6, at 7.30 p.m. Our comrade, the Rev. J. F. Gerrard, took the chair, and the speaker was our comrade, Rhys J. Davies, M.P., and his subject was: "What Are We Fighting For?"

Comrade Davies has spoken also, during the parliamentary recess, at a conference organised by the Birmingham P.P.U. This group has had a visit from our comrade, the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., now of Coventry, and so well-known in Glasgow for his stalwart advocacy of Socialism and defence of the common people's struggle. Dick Lee has opposed two wars because he believes war to be wrong and to be of no service to the workers of the world. He is a great internationalist and humanist.

Rhys Davies made an excellent speech in the House of Commons on Wednesday, December 9, dealing with conscription and the distributive trades. We hope to reproduce this speech in our next issue. Also a speech by our comrade, R. R. Stokes, M.P. The latter's fearless speeches in the House, and the activity in the country, should be recognised by all who are appalled at the horror and falsehood of war.

SIDNEY SPENCER

Our comrade, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., Minister of the Hope Street Unitarian Church, Liverpool, was fined £10 in November, 1942, for refusing to register for fire-watching. As in April, his fine was paid by an unknown person. This was contrary to his wishes.

Mr. Spencer states his position thus:—

My objection is to the application of the principle of compulsion to a task so closely associated with the war. There is, I believe, the gravest danger to the freedom of this country in the increasing regimentation to which we are being subjected. It is vital that this tendency should be resisted. The Government allows no possibility of conscientious objection to civil defence. Men in some instances have suffered the maximum penalty of the law (£100 fine and three months' imprisonment) for their refusal to register, and severe penalties are still being inflicted. While men are suffering in this way for conscience' sake, I can only take my stand along with them, and make my protest in whatever form I am called upon to do, as a testimony to my belief in personal freedom and the liberty of conscience.

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See also announcement on page 81.

EDITOR'S STATEMENT

We are endeavouring to keep this journal at 2d. despite statements by readers all over Britain that they would pay 6d. or 1/- for each issue. We write and speak, as did Richard Carlile, for the poor to the poor. We shall change the price or cease publication with equal reluctance. To do either thing is to admit defeat. We are not defeated yet. The response of readers has been good. In all, since December we have received donations of £329 15s. 10 d. Our appeal was for £1,500. We have acknowledged £130. Our total is now £459 15s. 10½d. The balance, NEEDED IMMEDIATELY AND URGENTLY, is £1040 4s. 1½d. This sum is wanted to clear the debt on our printing and publishing and MUST be forthcoming. Given it, we shall make no more appeals for 12 months.

Also, we need two folding machines, since our pamphlet work is handicapped by old-fashioned hand-folding on big pamphlets. Who will help? Our plant is good except for want of these machines.

LUNACY

The Man in the Moon looked, and mused:—
"Those people on Earth seem confused.
They are told they must fight
For freedom and right;
And "peace traps" must all be refused.

"Sane thought for a stable world state
Must be crushed in an orgy of hate.
All conscience and reason
Suspected as treason
'Gainst those who destruction dictate.

"They must not negotiate peace,
Or honour and freedom will cease.
They must all bomb and blast
Till the earth at long last
Lies ruined:—a happy release!

"A lunatic lot they must be
They all could be happy and free.
They have all that they need
For their good: yet they bleed.
Alas! Are they maddened by me?"

E. E. BRISCOE.

I WILL NOT GO TO WAR

I will not go to war,
And kill my fellow man,
Because a few financiers
Have got the world in pawn.

I ask, what did we gain
At Verdun or at Loos?
We all must die, I know, but war
Is not the death I choose.

So take your bloody guns,
And hate, and maim, and kill,
I'll lie and listen to the lark
Upon the daisied hill.

And when you're sick of blood,
And mud, and lice, and shame,
I'll listen to your grouse, and say,
"Well, who was it to blame?"

JOE CORRIE.

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Feb. 7—J. McCabe.—Richard Carlile Centenary.
,, 14—150th Anniversary. Speakers, Lord Snell (presiding) J. McCabe, S. K. Ratcliffe, Dr. C. Joad and Prof. G. Keeton.
,, 21—Dr. C. Joad, M.A.D.Lit.—Eighty-seven years of Bernard Shaw. The Socialist and Playwright.
,, Prof. G. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.—Some Makers of Modern England (6) The Younger Pitt.

CHRISTIANITY AND PEACE

Our comrade in the struggle towards peace, the Rev. J. F. Gerrard, B.A., Vicar of St. Thomas's Church, Wigan, states his position fearlessly.

The motto text of his "Parish Magazine" for 1942, was: **"As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."** When a Vicar takes this for his text in time of war, and proclaims fearlessly his Pacifist opinions, the text becomes a very definite challenge to all the organised political forces of war and Capitalist Imperialism. The Rev. J. F. Gerrard is a very brave man and a true Christian teacher.

In his magazine for September of last year, he addressed the following letter to his readers:—

St. Thomas's Vicarage,
September.

My dear Friends,—The courageous speech of the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords advocating a negotiated peace with Germany, found little favour with his fellow peers. One would have thought some Christian voice would have spoken out to support a plan which provides an alternative to the diehard policy of "fighting to a finish", whatever the cost in life and treasure. No doubt some who were present secretly shared the views of the Duke, but kept silent from fear of unpopularity, or of being thought disloyal. It is the same in the country at large. Three years of confused fighting, in which we are ranged on the side of strange allies, have left people bewildered and with little enthusiasm for continuing a struggle which has become increasingly a fight between Fascism and Communism. They keep uneasily silent, however, because it seems disloyal to be otherwise.

I believe the time is ripe, and people are ready for a lead out of the present chaos of conflicting ideologies. Where is that lead to be found? Where should it come from? Surely it is the duty of the Christian Church to show the world the way forward to sanity and world-wide brotherhood. In this connection I should like to put forward a peace plan which I have long had in mind.

It is that an armistice be immediately declared to last, say, from now till Christmas. During that time negotiations for a peace can take place. But it must be a Peace of Christ, a just peace, not a vengeful peace. There must be no revenge, no laying the seeds of a future war through lack of forgiveness. The armistice would provide the opportunity for counsels of moderation and fairness coming to fruition.

The alternative to this is fighting on, with fearful casualties, and increasing ferocity of warfare. Can any Christian contemplate this without intense sorrow, or accept it as the only solution? At the present time Anglicans are fighting Lutherans, Roman Catholics fighting Roman Catholics, yet all name the Name of Christ, all are equally dear to our Lord. In His last prayer which He offered to God "with strong crying and tears" His passionate cry was that "they all may be one", all united in the Family of God. How long are we to grieve His sacred Heart, how long delay His glorious Kingdom on earth?

Yours faithfully in Christ,

J. F. GERRARD.

In the December issue, the Vicar returns to his Pacifist charge. We make the following excerpt:—

Except by looking at the Kalendar we will not, this year, be able to tell whether Christmas has arrived or not. The usual preparations for the happy time are absent this year; the glittering shop fronts with their fairy lights and shelves groaning under the weight of all sorts of wonderful things are but a sad memory of the past. As for turkey and goose, and the usual Christmas fare they are completely banished for the "duration." Still, for the earnest Christian these things, though valuable as showing the importance of Christmas, are but the external trappings of this sacred time: the real sign of Christmas is the spirit of love and brotherhood which our Redeemer's birth brought into the world. To-day, alas, that spirit is eclipsed by the designs of wicked men, the battle is on, "with confused noise and garments rolled in blood." The angels of the Nativity who proclaimed the message of peace and goodwill must weep at the spectacle of men made in the image of God using the Devil's weapons of slaughter, suffering and destruction. It would be wrong to let pass the festival of our Saviour's Birthday without a plea for the return of peace and sanity in the councils of the warring nations. The war has gone on long enough and it is no nearer a solution by force of arms than it was at the beginning of hostilities. Other methods should be tried. Christian methods of conciliation which will achieve much more than campaigns of hatred. A Christmas Armistice should be declared and the attempt made to settle differences at a peace conference. Sooner or later it will come to this; why not now?

Alas! Pagan-Christendom believes only in the power of the sword, not the Christian message of the power of the word. It does not believe in the power invisible, only power transient, corrupt, and visible. Yet the power invisible, latent in the poor, lurking in unseen places, will stir the world and finally conquer the too visible power of death that stalks abroad in pomp and ceremony, and mocks man with the false military glory of war.

UNDERSTANDING THE WAR OBJECTOR

THE PROBLEMS OF CONDITIONAL EXEMPTION

When Lew Ayres, famous to his screen admirers as Dr. Kildare, took his original stand as a conscientious objector against war, we collected the facts concerning his attitude and his treatment, with a view to publication. Space considerations held up publication. The pressure placed upon Ayres has caused him to modify, with obvious reluctance, his original stand, but he has avowed that his opinions are unchanged. We sympathise with Ayres in his original stand and we understand and sympathise with him in his retreat, although we do not concur in his compromise. Not Ayres but his detractors, and those who placed pressure upon him, are to be condemned. They could not respect the moral worth and the importance of character and individuality.

Although comments on Ayres' declaration of conscientious objection to war are somewhat belated, the principle involved is of eternal moment. We make no apology for reproducing the editorial published in "The New York Times" for April 3, 1942:—

THE CASE OF LEW AYRES.

If all Americans believed as Lew Ayres does, the "creed of non-resistance to evil", the Nazis could do whatever they wished in this country. If all humanity believed the same creed there would be no Nazis and no war. A minute handful of Americans do believe this creed. We have no reason to hope, from what we know of the human mind and human emotions, that the whole world will accept it in any time we can foresee. But let us not on that account hold back an honest tribute to a man who gives up a rich career and faces public ridicule and contempt because he will not hide the faith that is in him.

Those who are tempted to throw stones at Lew Ayres would do better to ask themselves what their own faith is, and how much forgetfulness of self they are living up to. The avowed faith of the vast majority of people in this country is that no sacrifice is too great if it will help beat down the Nazi abomination. We think that the men whose lives and deaths have testified most eloquently to this faith are the ones who would come closest to understanding Lew Ayres, though disagreeing with him to the last syllable.

When those of us who aren't even eligible for the armed services have paid every cent of our Federal taxes cheerfully, have accepted all the little war deprivations, not only in the letter but in spirit, have put away our jealousies, our private ambitions and our intolerances, have made in our own lives a shining example of what resistance to evil can be, then let us, if we will, pass a moral condemnation on non-resistance. And then, perhaps, we won't wish to. It is a doctrine for the other-worldly and for saints, and there will never be enough of those to interfere with our war efforts.

The tone of this editorial had the excellent effect of inspiring Norman Thomas, the well-known United States Socialist Party spokesman, and the New York Society of Friends, to make statements in defence of conscientious objectors. Both letters appeared in the "Times" for April 7.

The letter from Norman Thomas was set out as follows:—

USE PROPOSED FOR OBJECTORS.

Some of Them Might be Better Employed Than in Work Camps.

To the Editor of "The New York Times":

I want to applaud your editorial, "The Case of Lew Ayres", in your issue of April 3. If Americans can keep the degree of understanding and insight which you show, even in the midst of war, the future may be brighter than some of us had hoped.

Granting, as I certainly do, that Mr. Ayres has not presented a political alternative to war by his stand, it is extraordinarily courageous, and history may record that he and his comrades in an unpopular cause are prophets and pioneers of a happier and far more rational world.

There are one or two aspects of the situation affecting conscientious objectors on which I should like to comment. The first is that a great deal of valuable, intelligent and high-minded service which conscientious objectors are willing to offer is lost by the insistence of the government that conscientious objectors all go to work camps.

Some of these camps are doing fairly valuable work; some of them which I have seen are doing a kind of glorified and more strenuous leaf-raking. At all of them are men with capacities and training for relief work in difficult fields abroad and for special service at home. It is a pity that lack of imagination, bureaucratic rigor and fear of stupid public reaction should keep men digging ditches who can and should be doing other things.

Other Employment Possible.

So far the notion of employing conscientious objectors in humanitarian work in dangerous fields abroad, in public health service and the like here at home are theoretically accepted by the government, but not worked out. What actually happens is that a government which in law recognized useful civilian work as an alternative to military service, leaves almost entirely to religious organizations the task of providing and financing such work. The arrangement is unfair and wastes a great deal of potentially valuable human energy that could be used in raising food and caring for human needs. I am not suggesting the abandonment of these camps; I am suggesting a more varied programme and a frank recognition by the government of its responsibility for the alternative service which it has permitted in law.

The second situation to which thoughtful Americans should give attention is this: Originally the selective service authorities and many draft boards were inclined to interpret religion very broadly in construing the application of the law to conscientious objectors. In America, unlike Great Britain, conscientious objection is recognized only on the basis of religious belief and training.

To-day there is a tendency all along the line to interpret religion very narrowly. Actually, objection to the method of war may be quite as conscientious and, if anything, even more sincere, if the man has derived it painfully as a result of his own philosophic, social or political thinking than if he merely accepts the dogma of some creed.

Social Gains Seen.

From a social standpoint there is no reason for making alternative service a kind of special privilege to people who say their objections to war are derived from a supernatural source. The case for giving exemption from all military service to conscientious objectors is the recognition of the value of the individual which is denied by telling him to invest his life in that which to him seems wholly wrong. In times when the drift to totalitarianism is so strong, there are social gains in this protection of individual rights.

To-day there are scores and perhaps hundreds of men in America quite as sincere as Mr. Ayres who face jail rather than work camps because they say that their objection to war and participation in it is philosophical or political. Some Socialists—and no Communists — are in this number, but by no means all these philosophic objectors are Socialists, and only a minority of Socialists are such objectors. They act on their own conscience and not on any order from any political party.

Nevertheless, their position is entitled to an understanding it is not getting. Not so much for their sake as for the sake of the future of democracy, the American law and its enforcement should be made as liberal as in Great Britain. In the latter country, boards pass on the sincerity of the objector, whatever may be the basis of his objection, and they recognise a great many forms of civilian service as an alternative to military service.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York, April 4, 1942.

Mr. J. Hibbard Taylor, Clerk, New York Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, expressed appreciation of the tone of the editorial, and added:—

We are pleased that you recognise the sincerity of an individual who, in obedience to his conscience, refuses to fight evil with evil, but chooses rather to overcome evil with good.

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GLASGOW POLICE COURT MUSINGS

The old year closed with incidents at the Glasgow Central Police Court that recall the part played by that Court in the struggle for Free Speech in Glasgow.

On Thursday, December 24, Mr. David Crawford, who had been Police Court Assessor in Glasgow for many years, was installed as Stipendary Magistrate of the City of Glasgow, until the return of Procurator Fiscal Findlay Langmuir, at present on National Service, who was appointed Stipendary Magistrate whilst absent abroad. In view of the circumstances under which Mr. Langmuir joined up, we think that the Government ought to have released him to take up his police court appointment. Langmuir's joining as a naval rating on June 6, 1940, when he had no need to do so, was dealt with fully in "The Word" for October and November, 1940.

In the Central Police Court Mr. Crawford presented his commission to Lord Provost J. M. Biggar, who administered the oath.

Mr. Crawford was congratulated, on behalf of magistrates and councillors, by Lord Provost Biggar.

Mr. Douglas Steen spoke on behalf of Professor Girvan, Dean of the Faculty of Procurators and members of the Bar. Mr. Robertson, Procurator-Fiscal, and Sir Percy J. Sillitoe also spoke.

Mr. Crawford replied.

This kind of ceremony is necessary but it leaves us with an uncomfortable feeling, because we are opposed to the prison system, and see in that system no hope for the people, and no protection against crime. Also we cannot forget that, to-day, under our parliamentary system, the prison system has degenerated since the days of Richard Carlile and Leigh Hunt. The treatment meted out to conscientious objectors, who are really political offenders, in jail, is barbarous. Even the conditions of writing of 18B unconvicted prisoners are disgraceful. The treatment of Douglas Young, the Scots Nationalist, admitted to be a scholar, under an alleged Socialist Secretary of State, is an outrage that would have revolted the mind of Castlereagh and Sidmouth. This is not rhetoric but fact, as Carlile's "Republican" and his shopmen's "Newgate Magazine" will prove. Hence we do not view these congratulations with unreflecting approval.

At the same time, as one familiar with Edinburgh's truly democratic Court of Session and London's caste-bound anti-democratic King's Bench, and also the police courts of London and Glasgow, we know the part played by the police court in the dull dreary life of the common people. In 1925, Mr. Cecil Chapman, published through Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, his excellent work, entitled "The Poor Man's Court of Justice." This described his 25 years' experience as a Metropolitan Magistrate, sitting at Clerkenwell, Southwark, Lambeth, Tower Bridge, Westminster. This is a most valuable work to the social student, and contains a splendid appendix indicting the prison system.

On December 31, that is exactly a week after Mr. Crawford's installation as Stipendary Magistrate, Mr. James Lindsay, for over 30 years Clerk of the Court at Glasgow Central Police Court, received the tribute of his colleagues on the occasion of his retirement from that post.

Mr. James Robertson, Procurator-Fiscal, said that Mr. Lindsay had been in the service of the Corporation for over 50 years—a truly remarkable record.

In 1932, when the Children's Act was passed, Mr. Lindsay was consulted, and the forms now used were more or less his work.

Police Judge John S. Clark—not the John S. Clarke of the "Worker" and the "Daily Record" and sometime M.P. for Maryhill, but the Govanhill I.L.P. man whom the I.L.P. boosted as a "Socialist" when he stood first for the Council.—also paid a tribute to the retiring Clerk.

James Lindsay's name is to be found on the Stated Cases we took against the decisions given in the Central Police in 1924 and 1931. That fact links the Glasgow Court in our mind with the struggle for Free Speech.

It was announced on May 8 that the Secretary of State for Scotland had informed the Town Clerk of Glasgow that Mr. George Smith had tendered his resignation as Stipendiary Magistrate of the city on grounds of ill-health and that his resignation had been accepted.

Mr. Smith, who is 59, was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate in 1923 when he relinquished his post of Procurator-Fiscal for Glasgow. A native of Midlothian, he was educated at Dalkeith and Edinburgh University, after which he entered the legal profession.

He had considerable experience of civil work and court practice, and had charge of many important arbitrations and Provisional Orders before being appointed in 1914 to control the court department of the Town Clerk's office in Glasgow.

After serving with the Coldstream Guards in the first great war he was appointed to the office of Procurator-Fiscal for the city and for the courts of the River and Firth of Clyde.

Earnest Socialists in Glasgow—we do not mean the careerists—will recall the part George Smith played in the Free Speech struggle against the anti-public meetings bye-laws which abolished meetings in Glasgow Green. We pleaded the cases before him in 1924 and 1931. Mr. Smith's conduct of the hearings greatly contributed towards the useful result attained in the High Court of Justiciary in the 1931 appeal. As a result the bye-laws were changed and ever since there has been a legal right to hold meetings on Glasgow Green and in the public parks and open spaces of Glasgow and readers can see the bye-laws posted up for themselves in the open spaces of Glasgow. That right has never been implemented, owing to the failure and refusal of the Labour Councillors and the I.L.P. Councillors to make provision for operating the bye-laws. Some of them were too much concerned with graft to want free speech to flourish. This is the scandal of the so-called Socialist movement in Glasgow.

It is interesting to reflect that respectability has made Thomas Johnston Secretary of State for Scotland in a Tory administration and has made the Labour Party, to which he belongs, frown on public meetings. Yet, but for the meetings held on the Glasgow Green in earlier years and the circulation of "Forward" at those meetings, Johnston would have enjoyed no reputation among the people of Glasgow, and would not have attained his present status. To-day Mr. George Smith has to tender his resignation to this one-time "Socialist" agitator!

Our experience of George Smith was that he considered the public questions we argued before him clearly and legally on their merits. He considered them from the standpoint of public interest and made shrewd comments on the incompetence or error of restrictive bye-laws he had to administer. He cleared the avenue for a great public wrong being righted. But the "Socialist" Town Council preferred to assassinate the cultural right of public meeting in Glasgow. Every member of the Labour Party, and every member of the I.L.P. in Glasgow, should be ashamed of their attitude towards the operation of Free Speech and Public Meeting Bye-law established after so much struggle—and established in vain apparently.

The Glasgow motto is: "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the word." But careerists are not anxious that the word should be preached.

Every Thinking Man or Woman ought to read

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Glasgow comrades will be interested to know that when Mr. Maclachlan left Glasgow for his London charge, the change was made because the London church is an avowedly Pacifist centre. During January 1943, the Sunday morning services have consisted of vital conferences, opened by different persons, discussing questions of the World Church, Common Ownership, the Nature of Communism, etc. The London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation held its New Year Party at the Trinity Presbyterian Church on Saturday, January 23. The church extends a hearty invitation to all Socialists and Pacifists living in N.W. London to attend its conferences and to participate in its institutional life.

THE STARVATION WEAPON

By The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT.
(First Commissioner of Works, 1924 Labour Government.)

[The following article by our comrade Jowett is reproduced from the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, November 6, 1942. The war-mongering Mr. Leach mentioned by comrade Jowett was at one time a member of the I.L.P. He was a conscientious objector during the war of 1914-18! —Ed.

The Upper House of Convocation is a Church of England institution. Whether it consists entirely of Bishops and the two Archbishops of the church I do not know, but it has met recently and passed unanimously a resolution of which Parliament, to restore the credit of our nation and for the sake of common humanity, should take heed whilst there is still time to avert what may be the worst of all the disastrous consequences of this war.

The Bishop of Chichester, moving the resolution, quoted figures showing that the number of deaths in Athens and Piraeus alone in **two months of this year** was 110,000. As the total population of these two cities, judging from the most recent records available, could not have been more than 720,000 the death rate in these two months must have been very nearly **one in every seven on the total population.**

The Bishop of Chichester in his speech ("Times" October 16) also referred to conditions in Belgium.

"In Belgium", said the Bishop, "unless the British Government allowed food to go through the Blockade for the children and nursing mothers, there was likely to be very little of Belgium to be saved and very few Belgian children would grow up. The race for saving large parts of Europe was literally a race with death."

The case, such as it is, against allowing food to reach the starving populations in occupied Europe was put by Mr. William Leach, the Member for Central Bradford, to a deputation representing the Bradford Committee for Food Relief on July 18th ("Telegraph & Argus"). He said that:—

"two or three considerations influenced him in studying this matter. Would the proposal of lifting the blockade and facilitating food supplies to occupied Europe be harmful to our own people? Would it help the Germans? Would it endanger the prospects of victory? My answer to these three questions", said Mr. Leach, "puts me very much against what you" (the Food Relief Committee's deputation) "are wanting."

In support of his first point, that allowing food to go to occupied Europe might be harmful to our own people, Mr. Leach referred to the fact that one food ship had been torpedoed on its return journey and said that if that sort of thing went on our supply of ships would be lessened and we should be made the victims of our own generosity.

The report of the proceedings does not say that the food relief delegation mentioned the fact that the ship in question was not under charter for conveyance of further supplies. That does not seem ever to have been alleged. If it had been it would have displayed the usual maritime signs for its protection. Nor has it been claimed that a charter to fetch further food supplies had been applied for.

Presumably, therefore, the ship had become an ordinary trading ship and no more free from risk of being torpedoed than any other trading ship. Of course it is one of the tragedies of this and the last war that any ship in ballast or carrying non-military cargoes except into an actually blockaded port should have to risk being sunk.

But as **we ourselves** widened the pre-1914 rules of blockade to include the open sea everywhere for the last and for this war, it is a tragedy for which we must acknowledge our share of responsibility.

As to the risk of lessening our supply of ships, that cannot surely be regarded as a good reason for starving the populations of Greece and other occupied countries, men, women and children alike, whose own ships in very large numbers are bringing **us** food and munitions whilst those very same ships are **not allowed to take food or medical supplies to their own people at home.**

Mr. Leach's second point that to allow food to go "to feed starving people" in occupied Europe would help the Germans cannot be maintained except on the assumption that Germany would take more food from occupied countries if arrangements were made to allow food to go there.

But what are the facts? The facts show that even in this war, savage as it has become, food has been supplied from America and from Canada to occupied countries including Poland without any evidence whatever that any part, however small in proportion, was made to benefit either directly or indirectly either Germany or Italy.

Arrangements for dispatch of 50,000 tons of foodstuffs and medical supplies to Greece were made about a year ago.

On the steamer chartered to take this mercy cargo it was arranged that three independent organisations, the American Vanderbilt Committee, the Turkish Red Cross and the International Red Cross would have representatives, the two latter representatives to supervise the distribution of goods to the Greek people. Of this transaction the "Manchester Guardian" said (September 11th, 1941):—

"The German and Italian Governments have given formal assurances that the supplies will not be diverted to other purposes, and have guaranteed a safe passage for the ship, which will also carry parcels for British prisoners of war in Greece."

Neither of this transaction nor of any other of the few other similar transactions, during this war, has there ever been an allegation from any responsible source that the benefit, either direct or indirect, has been taken by Germany or Italy.

To this day a German Quaker monthly journal founded in 1925 is circulating in Germany. In a recent copy of this German Quaker journal there was a long account translated from an American source of the great work done by the American Friends' Service during the last war under supervision of Mr. Herbert Hoover. The assistance given in food and medical supplies under his supervision in Belgium all through the last war was stupendous, and the honesty of the whole procedure from start to finish has never been seriously questioned.

Mr. Stephen Hobhouse relating these facts in "Peace News" (September 19, 1941) made also this following statement:—

"THE QUAKER CHILD-FEEDING HAS NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN IN GERMANY.

American Quakers have been allowed to travel freely both there and in most of the occupied countries and there has, we believe, been no interference with the relief work (strictly limited, owing to the British blockade) which they have tried to do for the Poles and the French."

With regard to Mr. Leach's third point that allowing food to go to starving people in occupied countries would endanger the prospect of victory, there is, I believe, no more important factor in war strategy in our day than war propaganda insofar as it has truth for its foundation. If that is so, then even from the point of view of war strategy **to starve would-be friendly and neutral populations is madness.**

This is not only an anti-war socialist or a pacifist opinion. It is the opinion of a greatly increasing number of other people also as the resolution of the Church of England's Upper House of Convocation shows. An opinion which is fitly expressed in the following passage which I cut from a copy of the non-party "Cavalcade" on March 7th last, than which there could be no more suitable close to this article of mine. It reads as follows:—

"Must we wait till the war is over and a vastly greater number of people are dead from starvation? Are we certain that we can keep under control the fearful instrument we have devised, and which we continue methodically to use, in the Blockade War? And, if we are, can we be certain that there will be any moral justification in it—that British policy will not leave a legacy of hate among former friends as it left last time among enemies?

"These are questions which demand an instant searching of heart among Allied counsels. The Atlantic Charter is filling no craving stomachs in stricken Greece. The liberation theme upon which our unimaginative spokesmen play provoke nothing but bitter reproaches in hungry Belgians or Poles. Dr. Goebbels is telling them that Churchill is a monster responsible for their plight, and it must be asked why we should continue to play the Goebbels game for him, instead of beating him at it.

"At the moment the Germans can say with truth that the bulk of the merchant fleet of Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Yugoslavia are in the service of the Allies, many of them carrying food to Britain. Now, Greece, in pre-war days imported 400,000 tons of wheat annually, and we have so far relinquished the Blockade as to allow one cargo of 8,000 tons to be consigned there!

"'Cavalcade' urges that it will be better, alike for the conscience of democrats and for Allied political strategy, if immediate attention is given to raising the Blockade in a degree more commensurate with the facts. By maintaining it with only niggardly and tardy exceptions we do little to hurt Germany, but much to hurt our former friends. What inference can we expect populations in the occupied countries to draw from the Blockade while we keep in these islands an Army that is becoming known as Hitler's three million prisoners in Britain?"

DUKE OF BEDFORD

TO DEFEND FIRE GUARD AND OTHER "CONCHIES"

Forthcoming Speech in the House of Lords

This month the Duke of Bedford expects to make his fourth speech in the House of Lords. It will be recalled that his third speech made last July, was interrupted and so unfinished. The speech will be in support of his motion to call the attention of the Government

to the unsatisfactory position whereby through the failure of many tribunals to discharge their duties in a just and reasonable manner, and also through the failure of the Government to recognise the right of conscientious objection to fire-watching and to other compulsory work ordered by the Ministry of Labour, many persons of good character are being heavily fined or imprisoned, sometimes repeatedly for the same offence to move, to resolve, that the right to conscientious objection to fire-watching and to work ordered by the Ministry of Labour be henceforward recognised, and that appellate tribunals shall contain a majority of persons who, while fully prepared to recognise and reject the appeals of persons who are not genuine, have sympathy for the position of the sincere objector, whatever the grounds for his objection.

Lord Ponsonby may speak in support of the Duke's motion. Whether other members of the Upper House will have the courage to stand for conscience as Lords Parmour and Sheffield did during the last war we cannot say. Many wise words were uttered in the House of Lords in those days in opposition to some very foolish ones uttered in defence of the Government of the time, and the policy of persecuting war resisters.

It is interesting to read Lord Holland's famous memoirs, and also the life of Charles James Fox, to see how at this period the names of Mr. Ponsonby, M.P., and the Duke of Bedford were linked together, on the unpopular side. Lord Holland's memoirs and Fox's life make interesting political reading.

CARLILE CENTENARY COMMEMORATION

CENTRAL [GRAND] HALLS

(25 Bath Street, and Renfield Street.)

SUNDAY, February 7, 1943

(100th Anniversary of Richard Carlile's Death falls on Wednesday, February 10th, 1943.)

DOORS open 2.30. Chair taken 3 p.m.

KEEN DISCUSSION INVITED.

Admission Free. Silver Collection.

REMEMBER THE DATE! MAKE THE MEETING KNOWN!

Note time 3 p.m. Doors open 2.30 p.m.

INCITEMENT TO ——?

By the Rev. R. H. Le MESSURIER, B.A.
(Vicar of Holy Cross in St. Pancras, London)

We called her Bouncer, which was the nearest thing we ever got to an international pun. And certainly Elsa Kladno deserved the epithet.

She was short, plump and jolly. Of course we, who knew her inner story, knew also the magnificent heroism which made her present such an exterior to the world. For, if anyone could possibly have an excuse for being morose and unhappy, it was Elsa.

She came from Prague, where her father was a professor of medicine at the university. I'd met him once, in London, about ten years ago, and a more benign old gentlemen it is impossible to imagine. He'd come over to read a paper on psychology to the British Medical Congress, and I well remember the furore it caused in intellectual circles. He wiped the ground with the materialistic behavourists, and gave the soundest of scientific reasons why he considered a living faith in Christ essential to mental health. As I, too, held the same opinions, and had plenty of opportunities of proving them in my combined work as a psychologist and parish priest, it was only natural that I should invite Dr. Kladno to spend his last few days in London at my vicarage. And in between the enormous amount of work that he contrived to do even when he was supposed to be on holiday, we discussed many of our cases with mutual delight and profit.

We had another point of contact too. For, like myself, Dr. Kladno was a Pacifist,and in Prague he was the leader of a small, select, devout and intellectual circle of men and women who agreed with his views. It was a bit difficult at first explaining to him what an Anglo-Catholic was—he, of course, was of the Roman obedience. But his large-hearted charity soon bridged the gulf between us, and we corresponded regularly after his return to Prague.

In fact, my wife and I were on the point of accepting his recurring invitation to spend our holidays there, when the Nazi troubles started and Czechoslovakia was invaded. Our correspondence came to a sudden end.

It was in 1940 that I heard of the Kladno's again. A refugee organisation with which I had had some dealings, rang me up one morning. They said that a certain Elsa Kladno had arrived in London, and had told them of her father's acquaintance with me. Of course, my wife and I got busy at once, and within an hour Elsa had come to stay with us.

She was pale, and almost thin when she arrived. When my wife tucked her in bed that night, she broke down for the first and only time, and we learned something of the horrors she had been through in Prague and elsewhere. But twenty-five is a recuperable age, and Elsa—outwardly at all events—soon recovered her good spirits. We both loved her from the start. She fitted in as if we had known her for years, and pretty soon she was like another daughter to us. At first her English was almost unrecogniseable, but we got on with smatterings of German and French, until her quick mind enabled her to speak English almost without a flaw. She was very musical, too, and spent hours keeping up her practice on our piano. I don't think I mentioned that she'd won a gold medal from the Vienna Conservatoire when she was eighteen, and was regarded as a coming pianist in that land of natural musicians.

She wouldn't have left Prague at all, if it hadn't been for the firm insistance of her father. Though Dr. Kladno wasn't interested in politics, he could see perhaps a bit more clearly than most, which way the wind was blowing. When I say he wasn't interested in politics, I mean just that. Leaders of all parties were amongst his intimate friends, and very often bitter opponents would meet at Dr. Kladno's house, and his influence was enough to make them become almost friends while they were there. However, when the second world war started, Dr. Kladno insisted on sending Elsa to England through Austria and Italy; managed, too, to ensure that she brought a fairly good supply of money with her. At least, we'll call it money, for I don't want to give the old man's secret away, lest I spoil the chances of others who have hit on the same idea. Of course, some of you who have listened to Elsa's marvellous broadcasts on the B.B.C., may by this time have guessed that her name wasn't Kladno at all. But what you can guess won't hurt her, now.

Elsa had the kind of hair that every woman wants, and few get. It was gold and sparkling, great masses of it piled up in naturally wavy "sets", as I believe the technical term is. Her complexion was fair, her eyes a lightish blue. Her rippling laugh was one of the most infectious things I know. Our children loved her. And that's the finest test of all.

One evening we'd been privileged to listen to Elsa in a B.B.C. studio, and we got home fairly late. We'd missed the nine o'clock news, and it was Elsa herself who suggested listening to the B.B.C. European broadcast. To my dying day I shall regret that I didn't smash the radio then and there.

I don't know whether you often listen to the continental service of the B.B.C. You'll be surprised at their flavour. They are, well, more pungent, shall we say, than the usually polite and well-bred stuff dished out for English listeners. And this night it was worse than usual.

The announcer had a rather harsh voice, and this quality was augmented by the brusque way in which he read the news. And when he got down to giving some details about some Quisling or other who had been shot in Brussels, he fairly let himself go. "We are interested to hear", he said in a gloating sort of voice, "that Monsieur Paul Lallier was shot in Brussels yesterday. Monsieur Lallier was one of those Belgians who was pleased to co-operate (I can give you no real indication of the sneer in his voice as he said that word) with the Nazis. You may remember that only last week we called your attention to his nefarious dealings with the enemy. And now he has received his reward."

"I am now going to read you", continued the announcer, "a list of people whom you should watch very very carefully. And, if they are listening themselves, I should like to tell them that they are playing a very dangerous game. It may be that they don't understand the terrible nemesis awaiting them. But they can be sure that it will shortly overtake them. . . . Now, perhaps you would like to have a pencil and paper ready, to take down this further list of traitors who have been brought to our notice."

"If that isn't direct incitement to murder", said my wife, "then I've never heard of it."

Elsa nodded dreamily. I think she was still thinking of that Liszt rhapsody she had played that evening.

Then, without warning, the blow fell.

"Last on our list"; said the announcer with relish, "is the name of Dr. Albrecht Kladno, of Prague University."

Elsa came out of her dream in a flash. Her face grew pale and old. Her month opened. Her hands clenched. And she gazed at the radio with a growing expression of horror and despair.

The rasping voice flowed on. "Dr. Kladno", it said, "has been very friendly with the Nazi chiefs in Prague, very friendly indeed. On several occasions prominent members of the Nazi party have been coming from his house, where presumably there has been a meeting. Dr. Kladno is playing a very dangerous game, and we have given you his name because we thought you might be interested. We know you will keep a careful watch on Dr. Kladno and his kind, and . . ."

I dashed across the room and switched off the radio. My wife knelt beside Elsa's chair, and clutched the trembling hands that seemed to have lost all life.

"Don't worry, Elsa darling", said my wife. "It will be all right. It will be all right, Elsa, dear. I know it will. Don't worry."

Elsa took a deep, shuddering breath. "How horrible!" she moaned. "How dreadful! Why, Daddy wouldn't dream of plotting for or against anyone. Friendly! He's friendly to everyone. His friendship is the finest thing he's got to offer."

"And he offers it generously", I put in, now that I could trust myself to speak.

The next few days were a nightmare. The three of us pestered the B.B.C. and every Government department we could reach. Everywhere the reply was the same—it was someone else's responsibility. Of course, the various officials were polite, that goes without saying. They regretted everything. But then, as one of them hinted, war was war, and no doubt the information received was correct.

We could do nothing. The thing was hopeless from the start. We could see by the way various people looked down their noses as we tried desperately to explain that Dr. Kladno was a Pacifist. But it was no good. The B.B.C. had spoken. The cause was finished.

Elsa, pale, grim, and self-controlled, haunted the radio. She tuned in to Prague, Berlin, Vienna—everywhere in fact where she might get some news. And it was five nights later that she got it—again from the B.B.C.

"We are interested to hear", said the gloating voice, "that Dr. Albrecht Kladno and his wife have paid the penalty of their friendship with the Nazis in Prague. Yesterday a bomb was thrown into their drawing-room, and they were both killed. Now if you will get your pencils and paper . . ."

* * *

"Aunty Elsa", said our youngest son a few weeks later, "why has your hair gone all white?"

TO THE POETS

When the last great war was over,
And the echo of guns had died away,
And the brave lay dead on foreign fields,
And the living returned on feet of clay,
Your verse was bitter as gall, Poets,
How you raved and cursed at war.
You saw through the game, above the throng,
War was fiendish, and war was wrong,
And could never be right—ay, that was your song,
And your books were popular.

But now we have war again, Poets,
The same kind of war as before,
Or do you believe 'tis for Freedom's cause,
And a brave new world for the poor?
Ye must, for your patriotic verse
Is the voice of your masters' guns,
This war, at last, is a war of right,
You changed your views in a single night,
And you praise the men who fly high at night,
And drop their death on the Huns.

But when it is over again, Poets,
And the brave are dead once more,
And the living are walking the hungry streets,
As they did so long before,
And the promises of your masters,
Are words that are buried and dead,
You will rail again, in the same old way,
And show up the shame and hypocrisy,
But forget that you, too, in the bloody fray
The poor to the slaughter led.

JOE CORRIE.

RICHARD CARLILE

A reproduction of the famous oil painting of Richard Carlile presented by George Jacob Holyoake to the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Hannan Swaffer, in the "Daily Herald", for December 22, last, under the title "Protest for a Prophet", wrote:—

Although it is more than ever necessary, to-day, to educate people as to how reformers struggled for the freedom they now enjoy—it did not descend as a gift from the heavens—not everyone seems to think so.

B.B.C. Says "No!"

The Rationalist Press Association had arranged for G. D. H. Cole to broadcast a special talk in celebration of the centenary of Richard Carlile's death — but the Talks Director of the B.B.C., apparently, had never heard of him.

"Although many are furious at the decision", writes Dr. Charles Brook, "the matter cannot be raised in Parliament. Won't journalists protest?"

In Jail for Freedom.

John Wilkes, certainly, is better known. But Carlile fought for the freedom of the Press and for unlicensed liberty of speech and writing with an equal zeal.

Born at Ashburton, Devonshire, in 1790, he died in London, at his publishing house in Fleet Street, on February 10, 1843, after having spent nearly ten years in jail for so-called "blasphemy and sedition."

Forgotten!

"Jail Journal", compiled by Guy A. Aldred, his contemporary champion, from Carlile's writings in prison, is in parts worthy of Tom Paine.

His courage was monumental. He advocated a living vigilant democracy. He discussed birth control—in 1826!

"Yet, while reactionist Cobbett and compromiser Hone have been remembered", writes Aldred, "while politicians Henry Hunt and Francis Burdett have been praised, the bravest and most stalwart revolutionist of his time, the Social Republican and ex-tinker, Richard Carlile, has been forgotten or ignored."

So, alas, are thousands of others to whose stalwartness our freedom is due.

Chapman Cohen, in "The Freethinker", for December 27, 1942, writes:—

"Jail Journal and Other Writings by Richard Carlile", Edited and arranged by Guy A. Aldred (Strickland Press, Glasgow, 2s.) gives nearly a hundred pages of sketches by Carlile, one of the most fearless of English Freethinkers and Radicals, and will be welcomed by many. There is a fine example to be found of the way the work of these pioneers is neglected and forgotten in almost any standard history of the early 19th century that one cares to pick up. If their names are mentioned, it is in such a way as to give the reader the impression that they are not of great consequence. Our scholastic system sadly needs overhauling.

Reviewing "Jail Journal", in "The Monthly Record" of The South Place Ethical Society, for February, our comrade, "Humanist" writes:—

This closely printed book of 90 pages has been produced as a centennial tribute to the memory of Richard Carlile, who died on February 10, 1843, at the age of 53. Out of this quite modest term of life, nine years and four months were spent in prison in consequence of his persistence in publishing matter technically in contravention of the Blasphemy Laws. This matter included Paine's "Age of Reason", referred to by Dr. Conway as "that really religious book." It was one of the many merits of Mr. W. J. Fox (at that time a firm believer in Christianity and in the Bible) that on the Sunday preceding the trial in October, 1819, he arraigned the whole principle of such prosecutions.

Mr. Aldred in his Foreword expresses the hope that the hundredth anniversary of Carlile's death will be celebrated throughout the English-speaking world. South Place Ethical Society has arranged to do its share for, as already announced, it has obtained the consent of Mr. Joseph McCabe to deliver a discourse on this subject at the meeting on Sunday, February 7.

Jail Journal contains a number of refreshingly outspoken articles by Carlile, many of which were written in jail. He was a freethinker who did not hesitate to call himself an atheist. His approach to Nature was strictly scientific and he gave hard knocks even to such an eminent mathematical philosopher as Sir Isaac Newton for his inability to divest himself of superstitious beliefs. Among other interesting items included in the booklet, those entitled "What is Love" and 'Thomas Paine" are of special importance. The first examines the nature of the normal love relation between man and woman and advocates birth control. In this respect Carlile anticipated one of the activities of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. The second is a convenient summary of the life of Thomas Paine.

(Concluded from Column 3.)

ment to the principles of that great and good man —ROBERT OWEN."

He gives his reasons for coinciding in Owen's principles, and concludes:—

"As I never in thought, word, or deed, wilfully injured any human being, I hope that I shall be forgiven by those whom I may have inadvertently or unconsciously jostled in this world's scramble. I have indefatigably, sincerely and disinterestedly laboured to improve the condition of humanity—believing it to be the duty of every man to leave the world better than he found it; and if I have not pursued this object with that wisdom and discretion that should mark at all times the conduct of a rational man, I have zealously maintained what appeared to me to be right, and paid the penalty of what my opponents may term my indiscretions in many cruel persecutions. I freely forgive all who have injured me in the struggle; and die in the hope and consolation that a time is approaching when the spirit of antagonism will give place to fraternal affection and universal co-operation to promote the happiness of mankind.

"(Signed) "Henry Hetherington.

"In the presence of G. J. Holyoake, Henry Allsop Ivory, John Kenny."

The sentiments of Hetherington as regards god, death, and priestcraft are commendable. But the manner of expression is terribly Victorian and I cannot imagine an atheist of our day being so troubled in the matter. Death is obviously the end of all and whether we state the fact poetically or not, the fact remains, and mortal existence cannot override it. The fact stated, the fuss ends.

It is to Hetherington's credit that he desired to check the "Infidel Death Bed" fiction, which was a stock-in-trade of superstition at that time. For that, and his struggle for the Free Press, workers should honour his memory.

UNITARIAN MEETINGS.

The ministers of the following churches are convinced Socialists and Anti-Militarists. Sunday Services are usually 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. but all comrades wishing to attend should read the local notices. We will add gladly to our announcements.

COVENTRY, New Great Meeting House, Holyhead Road, Rev. RICHARD LEE.

LIVERPOOL, Hope Street Church, Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

PORTSMOUTH, High Street Chapel, at 62 Kingston Crescent, North End, CHARLES H. COLE.

SOUTHAMPTON, The Little Chapel, Avenue Congrega Church, Rev. F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT, M.A.

AUSTRALIA, MELBOURNE, Un. Ch., Grey St., Eastern Hill, 11 and 7, Rev. W. BOTTOMLEY.

The ministers, and some members of the congregation of these churches, are readers of "The Word." Comrades who attend services as a result of reading this paper should make the fact known.

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HENRY HETHERINGTON

[In these columns for October 1941, we commenced a study on Carlile's contemporaries and biographers. Although the matter was in type we have not succeeded in publishing it, owing to pressure on our space. In this issue, we reproduce the part dealing with Henry Hetherington. This essay extends the note found on pages 147-148 of "Richard Carlile, Agitator", and also the paragraphs in the "Introduction" referring to Hetherington, pages 17-18. Since this month is the centenary of Carlile's death, no apology is needed for this record.—Ed.]

Henry Hetherington survived Richard Carlile six years. In his youth, Hetherington learned the trade of a painter. He pursued this profession to such purpose that he spent most of his public life as the much-persecuted and much-imprisoned champion of the unstamped newspaper. He opened a shop in the Strand, London, to champion the Free Press, but removed to Holywell Street, and then to Judd Street, New Road.

Hetherington died a member of the St. Pancras Board of Guardians. The Board paid a great tribute to his memory, on Friday, August 24, 1849, the day after his death. But the class war was a reality in 1849 as it is to-day. And it was as impossible to reconcile the rights of the poor with the interests of the rate-payers then as it is now. I prefer Hetherington's Atheism to his social economy.

Hetherington died at 4 a.m. on the Thursday, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, from cholera, following upon nine days' dysentery. He was buried at Kensal Green on the Sunday. Funeral orations were delivered by James Watson and George Jacob Holyoake.

Hetherington decided, on the Tuesday evening before his death, to put forth his last will and testament

"for the satisfaction and guidance of esteemed friends, that no mistake or misapprehension may arise through false reports of those who officiously and obtrusively obtain access to the deathbeds of avowed infidels to priestcraft and superstition."

Hetherington recounts his reasons for disbelieving in the deity, and proceeds:—

"2nd. I believe death to be an eternal sleep—that I shall never live again in this world, or another, with a consciousness that I am the same identical person that once lived, performed the duties, and exercised the functions of a human being.

"3rd. I consider priestcraft and superstition the greatest obstacle to human improvement and happiness. During my life I have, to the best of my ability, sincerely and strenuously exposed and opposed them, and die with a firm conviction that Truth, Justice and Liberty will never be permanently established on earth till every vestige of superstition and priestcraft shall be utterly destroyed.

"4th. I have ever considered that the only religion useful to man consists exclusively in the practice of morality, and in the mutual interchange of kind actions. In such a religion there is no room for priests—and when these are seen interfering at our births, marriages and deaths, pretending to conduct us safely through this state of being to another and happier world, any disinterested person of the least shrewdness and discernment must perceive that their sole aim is to stultify the minds of the people by their incomprehensible doctrines, that they may the more effectually fleece the poor deluded sheep who listen to their empty babblings and mystifications.

"5th. As I have lived so I die, a determined opponent to their nefarious and plundering system. I wish my friends, therefore, to deposit my remains in unconsecrated ground, and trust they will allow no priest, or clergyman of any denomination, to interfere in any way whatever at my funeral. My earnest desire is that no relation or friend shall wear black or any kind of mourning, as I consider it contrary to our rational principles to indicate respect for a departed friend, by complying with hypocritical custom."

In the sixth clause, Hetherington expresses his wishes with reference to his funeral, and concludes:—

"These are my views and feelings in quitting an existence that has been chequered with the plagues and pleasures of a competitive, scrambling, selfish system; a system by which the moral and social aspirations of the noblest human beings are nullified by incessant toil and physical deprivations; by which, indeed, all men are trained to be either slaves, hypocrites or criminals. Hence my ardent attach-

(Concluded on Column 2.)